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ABSTRACT

The three papers presented relate to the problems of planning adult education and are titled "Adult Education for Whom? A Qualitative Analysis of the Customers," "From Literacy to Cultural Development," and "Out-of-School Education: Part of the System of a Parallel System?". The first paper trys to show that any discussion of adult education must start from reflection on the customers who will be served by out-of-school education programs. (The distinction made between the school system and the out-of-school system is that in the regular school system--such institutionalized forms of education as primary or secondary school--pupils are not regarded as customers, since in most countries, they no longer have a free choice. Whereas in out-of-school forms of education, the audience is not only not a captive one, but a conglomeration of sometimes very heterogeneous customers.) The second paper discusses the difficult problems raised by the definition of the aims and content of training. Finally, in the third paper, attention is given to a particularly important problem, namely the institutional problem of the relations between the parallel out-of-school systems and the school system. (WL)

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SOME PROBLEMS IN PLANNING ADULT EDUCATION

by

Pierre Furter

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PREFACE

The three papers presented here under the collective title of "Some problems in planning adult education" were not originally designed as a whole. Two of them were commissioned by the IIEP direction for the 1970-71 trainees and the third for the 1971-72 trainees. As they aroused considerable discussion, it was agreed that the new elements would be taken into account in the final version. Having also been associated by the IIEP as consultant for the research commissioned by the World Bank and directed by P.H. Coombs on "Non-formal education for rural development", we have been able to compare our mainly Latin American experience with that of other continents. Thus, what was still divergent has gradually fallen into place and that is why, without in any way changing the ideas advocated, we now present three largely rewritten and above all inter-connected papers.

What is our approach?

In the first paper, we try to show that any discussion of adult education must start from reflection on the customers we want to serve by out-of-school education programmes. It is only after that that we can go on, in the second paper, to the difficult problems raised by the definition of the aims and content of training. Finally, in the third paper, we try to call attention to the particularly important problem in this kind of training, namely the institutional problem of the relations between the parallel out-of-school systems and the school system.

It goes without saying that these are only 'some' of the problems of planning adult education among the many which the planner may encounter, as we have found in our experience as a planning expert in Brazil and Venezuela and as a consultant in Iran and Senegal.

We hope that these few pages may also contribute to the advancement of IIEP studies on education.

Paris, December 1971

PART I ADULT EDUCATION FOR WHOM? A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CUSTOMERS

INTRODUCTION

It is both an honour to be able to return to this house where action is so skillfully blended with reflection and a great pleasure to find that on each visit the requirements are greater. While my contributions last year(1) were much more general and preserved an introductory character, this year the directors of this training course have assigned me a precise task in a collective undertaking.

I regard this new requirement as the first fruits of the international co-operation between the International Institute for Educational Planning and the International Council for Educational Development which was established in the context of the research commissioned by the World Bank on forms of out-of-school education for rural and agricultural development. I therefore hope that this modest contribution will help towards developing this new field of reflection and study for the IIEP. This also means that, while last year, I tried to interpret to you as planners, my experiences as an expert in the field, this year I can speak to you as an assessor, that is to say as an observer and no longer as judge and party.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM OF CUSTOMERS

In the institutionalised forms of education such as primary or secondary school, pupils are not regarded as customers. Indeed in most countries, they no longer have a free choice. Their school attendance is the consequence not of a personal decision but of an obligation. At most they constitute a public subject to an obligation which may, moreover, be more or less willingly accepted.

This school public is not only obliged to go to school. It is often even selected, prefabricated, organised in different administrative categories. No doubt today because educators are finally alive to differential sociology, to group sociology and the study and practice of group dynamics, this public is no longer simply manipulated but enjoys a certain freedom within the organisation set up. Be that as it may, 'school' educators can rely on habits and institutions which a priori surround what should in fact be 'customers' that is to say a diversified group with freedom of choice and capable of taking initiatives. In brief, 'learners' who would be valid partners in the negotiation which should precede any educative action.

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(1) See Parts II and III.

In out-of-school forms of education, for reasons which we can consider elsewhere(1), the audience is not only not a captive one, but a conglomeration of sometimes very heterogeneous customers. Not only are there different customers even for a single programme, but they react differently, protest, and when their claims are not met, take themselves off. This difference is very appreciable for all educators engaged in adult education because of the conflicts it involves. But even without going to the extreme cases where the customers take off, drop out and disappear in the absence of a hearing, let us note by analysing the statistics that discrepancies may be expected between customers in the same programme.

Let us take an example (Figure 1). In an adult education programme in which the teaching aids, methodological instructions, and general behaviour of the teaching body and administrative staff demonstrate that it had never been realised that a substantial part of this programme might be addressed exclusively to adolescents, we were able to show(2):

(a) That only the literacy section (alfabetización) covered the whole range of different age groups;

(b) that the 'accelerated primary education' section (CCP and CEC) was almost exclusively attended by young people under 18. We even found in the field whole centres where the only adults were the 'adult education' staff!

In fact, the young Venezuelans gradually displaced their elders because the official Venezuelan school system did not provide for primary evening classes. Adolescents who could not attend primary school in the daytime took the accelerated evening classes intended for new literates. The new literates, adults between 30 and 40, felt too old to compete with these young people and therefore dropped out.

Thus, between the planned (and imagined) customers and the real customers, there was a gap which very clearly explained some of the educational problems of this programme.

A better knowledge of the customers therefore enables planners to avoid or limit certain distortions, provided that certain preliminary studies have been made. Before planning an adult education activity, therefore, it is necessary, at least:

(a) To identify the different possible customers in the light of measurable and practical indicators;

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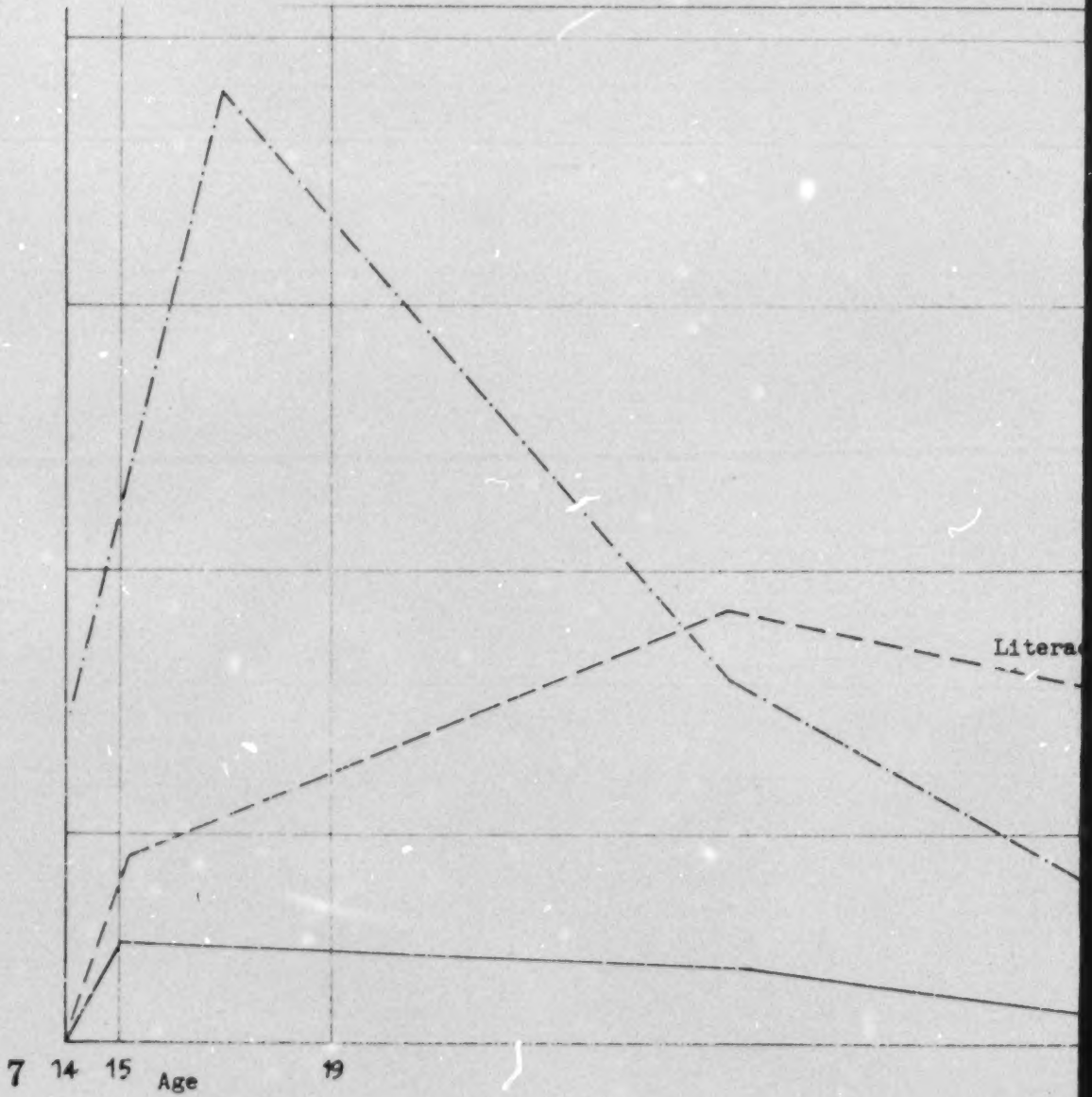
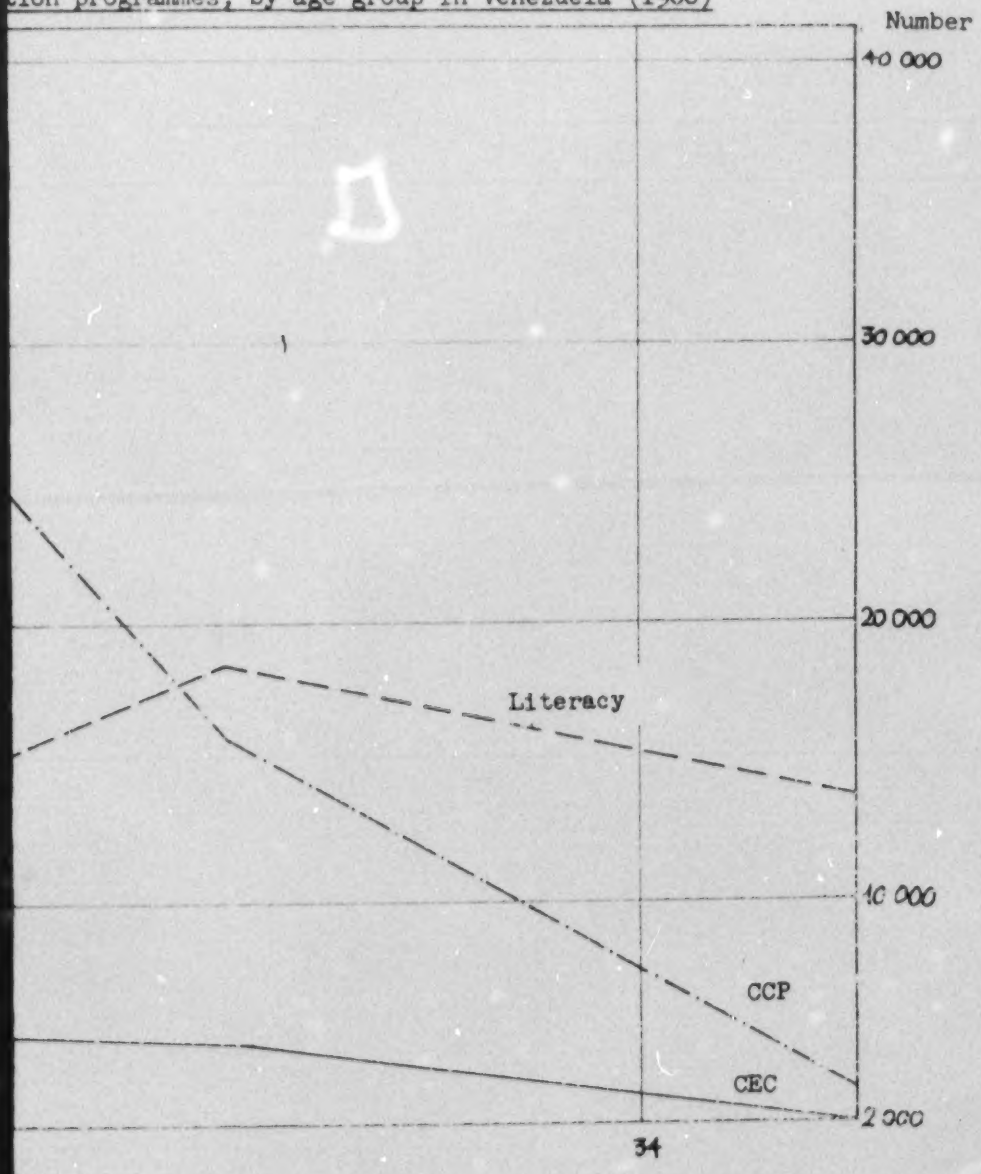
(1) See Parts II and III.

(2) Furter, P., Alfabetización de adultos (Perspectivas y problemas de la educación de adultos en la situación actual del desarrollo de Venezuela), Paris, Unesco, 1970.

Figure 1. Pupils of adult education programmes, by age group in Venezuel



tion programmes, by age group in Venezuela (1966)



(b) to localize each group so as to optimize the impact of the action and concentrate it in areas where the customers are particularly numerous;

(c) to characterize the groups of customers selected so as to obtain quickly and reliably the fundamental cultural elements from which education can be programmed which will suit them and in which they will participate. It goes without saying that other elements (economic, social, etc.) will also enter into this inquiry but in a secondary manner.

(d) constantly to assess the educative action on each group of customers so as to identify as early as possible any distortions or misinterpretations and above all, strains and conflicts.

POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

Customers can be studied, analyzed and assessed by specialists from different disciplines. In principle, we are of course aware that a serious and objective study calls for an interdisciplinary approach. But in reality, as we have observed it, this study, when it is carried out, depends on one or two specialists in the human sciences only. It is, therefore, important for the planner to know what kind of information he will probably get from each specialist. Let us try very provisionally and cursorily to identify the contribution of four specialists, the philosopher, the psychologist (and socio-psychologist), the educator and the sociologist. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, we should make it clear that in this exposition, we opt personally for the point of view of the sociologist.

You will no doubt be rightly surprised that I make room for the philosophers. They certainly afford little or no help to the planners in solving their concrete problems, but it seems to me essential to listen to them sometimes so that they can remind us of the great importance of the ideological dimension. In fact, we must never forget that adult education, ever since its origins, has found in religious beliefs, political ideologies and humanist conceptions its reasons, perhaps mistaken but very powerful, for acting in spite of all obstacles. Philosophers, too, are sometimes remarkably well-equipped to bring out the religious, cosmogonic and other ideas which the customers hand down in their oral culture and traditions and which cannot be dismissed out of hand. As brought out in a remarkable work by a Brazilian, Paulo Freire(1) the collective consciousness must be allowed to emerge if education is not to be repressive. That is why the philosophers' contribution must sometimes be collated with that of the anthropologists to ascertain whether the projected educational action fits in or not with the social project of the society to which the customers in question belong. Finally, philosophers are sometimes virulent critics who

(1) Freire, P., L'éducation comme pratique de la liberté - translated from the Portuguese, Paris, Ed. Cerf, 1971.

shatter preconceived ideas, like I. Illich when he proposes radical 'de-schooling'(1), an idea which is now inspiring many young educators and leading them to discover this vast field of action with and among adults.

The psychologist should be immediately useful because the dynamic psychology of human development makes it possible to plan ahead for groups according to the stages of mental development. In other words, psychologists should be capable today of providing the scientific foundations for the old theory of "the ages of life"(2) in which each age has its appropriate type of education. Unfortunately, however, it must be recognised that, apart from Erikson and his disciples(3), there are very few psychologists who have been able to free themselves from the study of the development of childhood and youth and who can give us precise information about the evolution of adults. That is a very serious gap which should no doubt be rapidly filled. In the meantime, the psychologists can render us two very great services. In the first place, they can dig down to the most deeply rooted motives to explain, for example, resistance to education. We find in practice that with many adults their resistance to education grows in keeping with the setbacks they have accumulated during their lives. Psychologists also make us increasingly attentive to the fact that the separation between childhood and adolescence on the one hand and the adult on the other is much less sharp and definite than we might have thought. There is, therefore, a continuity and accumulation in the development process which leads us to the idea of an infinite maturing in which the stages are distinct but the process of education is continuous.

The educationist comes in in quite a different way, in so far as, in programming education, he is obliged to take account of the needs, aspirations and desires of the different customer groups. He is also subjected to working conditions which differ very widely according to the customer group. If he does his job properly, he, too, will be in a position to know the different groups intimately. He will learn from daily contacts to distinguish the true needs from the false, to confront the superficial with the profound and so forth. And since his essential job is to 'make people talk', to teach them to express themselves and to reflect, the educationist will obtain information which complements that of his colleagues. On the other hand, he will always have the unfortunate tendency to classify customers in highly practical but not very meaningful categories. Finally, it is the educationist who suggests that the literate population can be purely and simply contrasted with the illiterate. He is very quick and sometimes ingenuous, in placing his trust in the levels of education and certificates to distinguish among the population.

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(1) Illich, I., Une société sans école, Paris, Ed. Seuil, 1971.

(2) Philibert, M., Les âges de la vie, Paris, Ed. Seuil, 1969.

(3) Erikson, E.H., Childhood and society, New York, 1968.

Finally, the sociologist is the person who can perhaps give the basic information most directly usable by planners. In fact, provided only that he has defined good indicators, he can equally well distinguish and locate a precise customer group and verify whether a proposed group is sufficiently homogeneous.

In order to illustrate these assertions in detail, we propose in the second part of this paper to apply precisely the sociological method to the problems of determining the illiterates in a society. If we take this example, it is not because we identify adult education with literacy, but because the case of illiteracy seems to us particularly enlightening.

THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF ILLITERATES

One preliminary comment must be made. In the face of illiteracy, the philosophical, psychological and educational approaches often end in deadlock because they content themselves with declarations of principle ('the universal right to literacy', etc.) without any scientific value, or else because they imagine that the concept of illiterate is enough in itself to characterize an individual. Nothing of the sort. First of all, the remarkable confusion which still exists about the definition of an illiterate should be enough in itself to arouse our mistrust.(1) The most it can do is to cast opprobrium on someone. In fact, this concept has a purely sociological significance: an illiterate is an individual belonging to a group differentiated from the rest of literate society. Now this differentiation is relative and not absolute. Secondly, the concept of an illiterate tells us nothing about the standard of living or way of life, social or geographical mobility, conception of the social system, social and economic conditions, etc. of the group thus characterized.

Our idea is, therefore, that of a continuum in which eight distinct conditions can be distinguished, that is to say eight fundamentally different customer groups of illiterates. This probably implies a much greater diversification of programmes than is at present the practice in most countries.

A last consequence of this classification is to bring out the fact that 'illiteracy' is a problem for all developing countries, rich or poor, with a high school enrolment ratio or a low one.

1. First of all, there are extreme cases where writing never having been invented, it would be absurd to speak of ... illiteracy. At most,

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(1) Harman, D., "Illiteracy: an overview" in Harvard Educational Review, 1970, No. 2, p. 226-243.
Contributo alla definizione del concetto di analfabetismo, Milan, ILSES, 1962.
Vaugrante, C., Techniques for analysing changes in literacy rates and in the number of illiterates. Dakar, Breda, 1970.

certain peoples could be described as without writing provided we are careful to make it clear that the lack of writing does not imply the absence of codes of communication. At this extremity of the continuum, it may be noted that the introduction (or invention) of writing may have fatal consequences of social disintegration. We have a model example in the account by C. Lévi-Strauss(1) of how the discovery of the power associated with writing entailed the complete destruction of a tribe of the Mato Grosso in Brazil.

2. Let us leave aside for the moment the very special problem of the so-called 'primitive' peoples and consider what happens in what are known as 'traditional' societies.(2) In this case, we are faced with a well-known historical fact, namely, the limited diffusion of writing.(3) First of all, in the Empires of Antiquity and the Middle East, the theocratic and centralized regimes which invented, adopted or introduced the use of writing did so in order to solve the complicated problems of logistics or administration raised by accelerated urbanisation. Historically speaking, writing seems to have been invented not to communicate or express onself but to control and ... oppress. As a result of these distant origins, writing retains a specifically urban character, or, if you prefer it, illiteracy is very often a feature of the rural population. This co-existence for thousands of years of urban literates (even in the small towns) and illiterate peasants, is, for example, characterized by Iran.(4) It would obviously be desirable to know, and in fact, we know very little how the peasants or countrymen react to this state of affairs. Do they feel its limits? If so, what? Do they regard illiteracy as a shortcoming? Does it generate a feeling of inferiority? All these questions await an answer.

3. With the third category, we find ourselves in the midst of the developing societies, that is to say, societies in which the embodiment of thought in writing, the importance of expression, the multiplication of writing etc. warrant a massive effort to ensure the literacy of a steadily growing percentage of the population. But, precisely what exact percentage is needed to ensure that the development is sustained and does not fall back

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(1) Lévi-Strauss, C., Tristes tropiques, Paris, Plon.

(2) Literacy in traditional societies, London, Cambridge University Press, 1968.

(3) L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples, Paris, 1963.
Goody, J., "The consequences of literacy", in Comparative Studies in History and Society, The Hague, 1963, Vol. 3-V, p. 304-345.
Grundmann, M., "Literatus-iliteratus", in Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, Cologne, 1958, No. 1.

(4) Furter, P., Possibilités et limites de l'alphabétisation fonctionnelle : le cas d'Iran, Paris, Unesco, now being printed.

into stagnation? Could a minimum 'threshold' of literacy be set? Be that as it may, even in post-industrial societies such as the U.S.A. and, of course, in complex societies such as Italy, one can still find in the midst of the developing society islands, ghettos, 'pockets of under-development'. It can be shown that for the black population of the U.S.A., for the Southern Italians, the proportion of illiterates is many times higher than the national average. Does that mean that we have here priority customer groups? We think not. In practice, this kind of illiteracy is only a perfectly secondary element in a complex which has led to under-development and which must be tackled as a whole; but you see how hot this problem is....

4. But let us leave aside the pockets of under-development and look at the literate part of the population. If we look at the cultural development statistics in the critical spirit displayed by Yugoslav specialists some years ago(1), we find a surprising dissociation between knowing how to write and knowing how to read. In other words, being lettered or literate in no way means that a man can both read and write. In the first place, some writers frankly define an illiterate as "a person who cannot read (sic) a written or printed text".(2) In other words, acquiring literacy merely means learning to read what other people have written for you! Is that not an example of literacy which oppresses instead of encouraging freedom of expression? Secondly, some historians have calculated illiteracy rates by counting the number of crosses which take the place of signatures in registers of births, marriages and deaths and the like. By this reckoning, illiteracy is merely inability to sign one's name. In this connection, I think we should remember what Célestin Freinet proposed for children: that they should be taught first to write and then to read what they already said orally.

5. A very different customer group from the foregoing can be identified in countries such as Venezuela which have suddenly speeded up their economic growth rate.(3) In these countries (cf. Figure 2), there are many groups, mostly men, who have never completed their studies. And this is found at all levels of education. Some of them may therefore acquire literacy at some stage in their life and discover ten years later tha the cultural evolution of their environment has made them 'semi-illiterate'. What is paramount in such cases is that customers of this kind are often strongly motivated towards perfecting themselves culturally. The question in practice is not one of obsolescence or regression (see point 6 and the following) but the beginning of a process of continuing education. It is probable that these

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(1) Zarkovic, S.S. and others, "Sampling control of literacy data" in Journal of the American Statistical Association, New York, 1954, No. 49.

(2) Cipolla, C.M., Literacy and development in the West, London, Penguin, 1969.

(3) Furter, P., Alfabetización ..., op.cit.

customers should take absolute priority over illiterates in pockets of under-development. It may be more important for a country to perfect part of its population which has already started its education than to try at all costs to bring down the national illiteracy index. One can, therefore, conceive a diversified literacy strategy which would correspond to the directives proposed at Teheran in 1965.

Figure 2. The level of education of the parents of school-children in the Federal District (Caracas)

	Number	%	Men	Women	Under 30	Over 30
Illiterate	9	2	4	5	1	8
Incomplete primary	84	18	49	41	10	74
Complete primary	89	19	56	33	16	73
Incomplete secondary	90	19	66	24	13	77
Complete secondary	37	8	26	11	8	29
Technical secondary	17	4	17	-	1	16
Commercial secondary	51	11	32	19	4	47
Incomplete higher	74	15	68	6	4	70
Complete higher	17	4	14	3	3	14

Source: O. Albornoz, El maestro y la educación, Caracas, 1968.

6. As we have already indicated, there are even in the post-industrial countries somewhat disturbing instances of regression. In spite of all the efforts at compulsory schooling, it is found on a check of the total adult population of 20 (for example, on recruitment for the armed forces)(1) that there is not only an unemployable residue, but also neo-illiterates. Studies on this subject are, unfortunately, all too few. It may be noted, however, that neo-illiterates in Belgium appear to be of the order of 1.26 per cent of the adult male population(2) and in the U.S.A. of the order of 2.4 per cent(3), these figures being purely indicative.

(1) Lewis, M.M., The importance of illiteracy, London, 1953.

(2) Rose, R., "Pédagogie expérimentale et le problème de l'analphabétisme" in Revue de Psychologie et des sciences de l'éducation, Louvain, 1970, No. 5-1.

(3) Harman, D., op.cit.

7. Perhaps even more disturbing than these individual phenomena of regression and neo-illiteracy are the collective phenomena of marginalisation. Some groups in the big modern metropolises withdraw from the labour market, and the cultural circuit end by creating veritable ghettos where, as has been shown in Sao Paulo(1), they reproduce among themselves.

8. Finally, if I may for once be allowed to speak as a Swiss, European migrations of workers may create problems of illiteracy in countries which think they have 'long solved the problem'. Unfortunately, I have no figures for Switzerland, but according to the French Commission for Unesco(2) and a private association(3), we can estimate that there are at present about one million illiterates in France.

CONCLUSION

I thus hope to have shown you very clearly that there are indeed a number of different customer groups. I think the exercise could very easily be repeated, for example, with programmes for out-of-school education for women.

Thus, in England, the proportion of women in the population participating in adult education has increased as follows(4):

1912-13	16.5%
1917-18	39.0%
.....	
1934-39	42.5%
.....	
1950-51	51.8%
.....	
1954-55	55.0%

As you can see, the problem of customer groups is indeed of capital importance if we want not only to see more clearly but also to plan the development of adult education better.

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(1) Hutchinson, B. and others, Trabalho e mobilidade, Rio, CRPE, 1960.

(2) Alphabétisation et promotion des migrants en France, Paris, C.N. pour l'Unesco, 1971.

(3) Un million d'analphabètes, Hommes et migrations, Paris, 1969.

(4) Peers, R., Adult education, a comparative study, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, p. 173.

PART II FROM LITERACY TO CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT(1)

INTRODUCTION

One of the greatest dangers we have to face in studying today's subject is that of proceeding by exclusion. Instead of saying what adult education is, we tend to define it by what it is not. Thus, we often speak of a-systematic, non-formal or out-of-school education and the like. This approach to the problem no doubt has rhetorical advantages but unfortunately, it has a number of scientific disadvantages. Intellectually, it is a lazy solution which mainly betrays the lack of creative imagination. Operationally, it leads to absolute oppositions which, though purely verbal, may lead to dichotomies and duplications which are prejudicial to planning. From the point of view of the customer groups, it does not yield them any satisfaction since they are already perfectly well aware of what they want.

It is certainly not easy to escape from this deadlock. Various solutions are, of course, conceivable. First, a semantic analysis of the terms used in this in any event somewhat ill defined field. Collating the concepts, classifying them and defining them so as to arrive at a coherent pattern would be a great step forward at the conceptual level. Unfortunately, it is also a very arduous task. It is all the more difficult in that the sets of concepts are not complete. If we try to use the comparative method, we must allow for the fact that the different Western languages do not possess comparable sets.(2)

Secondly, files could be constituted of all (or nearly all) the projects and programmes which might be included in the vast category of 'non-formal'.(3) It would perhaps not be impossible to classify these programmes with the aid of a few indicators and, with the help of a computer, to ascertain the most significant combinations. The danger of such an empirical approach is that it still does not enable us to do without the first. In practice, empiricism always works with hypotheses and definitions which are implicit. Furthermore, we have no guarantee that all projects and programmes have been taken into account. There may always conceivably be a programme which would radically challenge the results of the inventory and its interpretation.

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(1) Address delivered on 17 November 1970.

(2) At the African Institute of Geneva, we had a frustrating experience in trying to use sets of concepts borrowed from English, French, Spanish and Portuguese, that is to say, the mother tongues of the students.

(3) This is what the team under the direction of Mr. Philip H. Coombs of ICED is now doing with the aid of IIEP for the World Bank.

Be that as it may, and since I only have forty minutes left, you will perhaps allow me to choose a third approach. I shall, therefore, rely essentially on a precise experience, that of Venezuela where I was adult education planning expert for Unesco from 1957 to 1969. Relying mainly on the existing documentation on adult education in Venezuela during its democratic period (1958-1969), I should like to put forward the proposition that we can distinguish in that country a very marked tendency which starts from the fight against illiteracy and which at present culminates in the challenge of cultural development, somewhat disquieting for the planner. In this research, mainly carried out in the field, in the national archives and in constant consultation with the planning authorities(1), I have taken account of three main factors:

(a) the different customer groups;
(b) the different needs of these groups;
(c) the overall development of Venezuela which has modified and conditioned these changing needs.

I propose to take you through the following stages, each of which will be the subject of a separate chapter:

A. Adult education as the fight against illiteracy;
B. Adult education to fill gaps in schooling;
C. Adult education as promotion of social and cultural life;
D. Adult education as political training;
E. Adult education as vocational upgrading;
F. Adult education in the present context of cultural development.

A. ADULT EDUCATION AS THE FIGHT AGAINST ILLITERACY

In all cultural development operations and, consequently, in all adult education programmes, the aim is to relate the culture of a social group which is deemed to be satisfactory with that of other groups with other cultures or a lower culture, that is to say, a culture deemed unsatisfactory from a national point of view. If we regard the first group as being the 'literate' and the others as the 'illiterate' this bringing into relation seems simple and evident. That is why adult education is so often equated with the fight against illiteracy.

In Venezuela, only just emerged from dictatorship in 1958, it was even so evident that we witnessed a veritable national mobilisation which professed to wipe out illiteracy once and for all. Since the military dictatorship had been done away with, since the major endemic diseases had

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(1) Fürter, P., Alfabetización ... op.cit. See in particular the bibliography indicating the works and documents on which most of our assertions are based.

been eliminated, why should success not be achieved on the cultural plane as well? For the first few years, this massive attack met with undeniable success. Neither money nor human resources were spared. But with the second civil government, in spite of five years work and substantial resources, the fight against illiteracy noticeably slowed down. While it was easy to bring the illiteracy rate down to 30 per cent, it became harder and harder to get below 25 per cent.

There was the well-known fact that illiterates were mainly concentrated in the marginal or definitely economically backward regions. But there were also other difficulties. In the first place, illiterates had always been regarded as ignoramuses because they could not read. Little was done to make these second class citizens conscious of their cultural values, Venezuela having always been a country in which popular culture has remained very precarious. This culture gap was widened each day by a social gap generated by the exaggerated modernisation of the Americanised urban zones. Cultural ignorance added to the scorn of popular values led to an attitude of indifference and even of hostility. Furthermore, this fight against illiteracy was primarily a campaign to teach reading. The sole cultural aim proposed to illiterates was to read the single manual distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies by the Ministry of Education in a milieu in which mass media were developing fast. This cultural paternalism contrasted with a growing tendency towards self-expression encouraged by a politisation which penetrated the whole country. Finally, this purely academic literacy, in spite of some efforts to introduce themes from contemporary life, bore only a remote relation to the occupational aspirations which gradually developed in harmony with the country's economic growth.

Those of you who are familiar with the tendencies of Unesco in the matter of literacy will, of course, undoubtedly be surprised at the absence of any reference to functional, selective and intensive literacy. The example of Venezuela demonstrates above all how adult education centred exclusively on the fight against illiteracy very soon exhausts its potential after the first drive. It should, however, be recalled that this first phase of the development of adult education in Venezuela lies between 1958 and 1962, that is to say, well before the Teheran Conference. Venezuelan educationists, moreover, being inclined towards other forms of adult education did not try radically to change their original ideas about literacy. That is why, in spite of Venezuela's participation in the Experimental World Literacy Programme, its contributions to the development of adult education must be sought elsewhere.

B. ADULT EDUCATION TO FILL GAPS IN SCHOOLING

This second phase of cultural development simply seems to follow the first. In practice, however literate the former illiterates, however enthusiastic they may be for their new cultural powers, they soon find out that they have merely taken a first step. They still have a lot to learn before acquiring so much ease and habit that they will not slip back. Quite naturally, supplementary courses are provided for the newly literate. In Venezuela, they

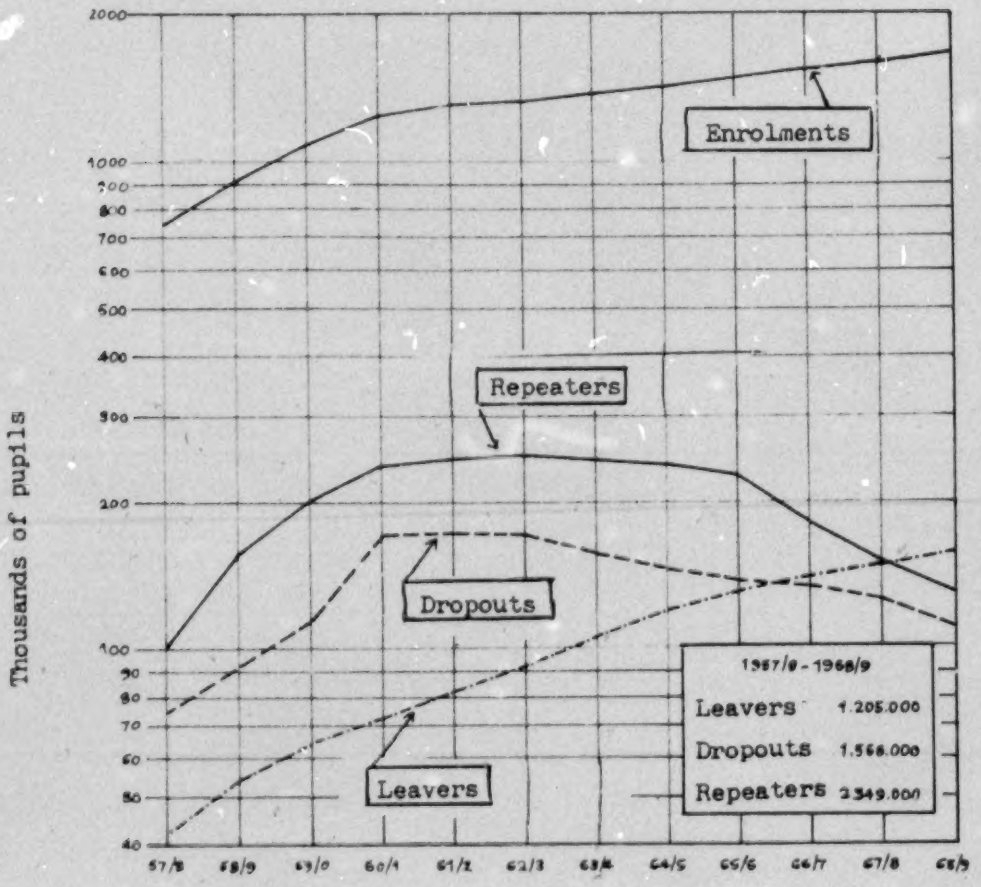
took the form of concentrated and accelerated primary evening classes. The educators thought that in this way they were making it possible for them to become fully-fledged citizens equipped with the fateful 'Quinto Año' or school leaving certificate.

Now, the analysis of the available statistics shows that this progress was only very rare. Most new literates did not even bother to enrol for the next stage. The number of adults taking these special courses has, nevertheless, increased steadily. Instead of the progression and promotion of the new literates, it was in fact, another customer group who came in, to some extent ousting the former illiterates. What happened? In a country such as Venezuela, where economic growth was explosive, where there was a timelag to be made up after 1958 and where, in the cultural field everything had to be started from scratch, young people were subjected to an extremely strong schooling effort (cf. Figure 3). While primary school entry was easier, entrants were in great danger of spending their time in repeating. If they lived in the country, they were likely to attend an incomplete school which did not even allow them to obtain the 'Quinto Año'. Or else, they left school to earn a living. That is why a significant proportion of the male population seem never to have completed their studies. Life has, in a sense, led them into a state of suspense in their cultural development. This is true not only at primary level but at all levels up to and including university. So long as economic growth maintained its very rapid pace, and so long as social development was sufficient to maintain a flexibility which encouraged vertical mobility, and so long as political development did not depend on cultural development, the literate but uncertificated portion of the Venezuelan population could not only survive but prosper. When Venezuelan society became more competitive and development in general became subject to a process of co-ordination and planning, those without paper qualifications, without even a school-leaving certificate, found themselves in a delicate situation and sometimes even in a real occupational deadlock. Even their job security might be threteaned, especially if they were officials. This customer group had very precise and urgent needs to fill the gaps in their schooling.

This is no doubt more of a social than a cultural problem. It is only purely ideological affirmations which make us think that this population wants 'to perfect itself'. In fact, the main thing it wants is to get a certificate. This customer group has been increased over the years by young people and very young adults who left school prematurely because they were too old to stay there or because they had to earn a living. Since they could not get their 'Quinto Año', they were worried about their future. Since Venezuelan schools have no evening classes, they, too, began to take the accelerated courses for adults which were not intended for them. This explains why the average age is around 18.

These catching-up courses are shown in the flow-chart of adult education after literacy (cf. Figure 4) in accordance with the illusion entertained by educators that the person who completes the 'Quinto Año' is necessarily someone who began to acquire literacy four years earlier. In reality, these courses

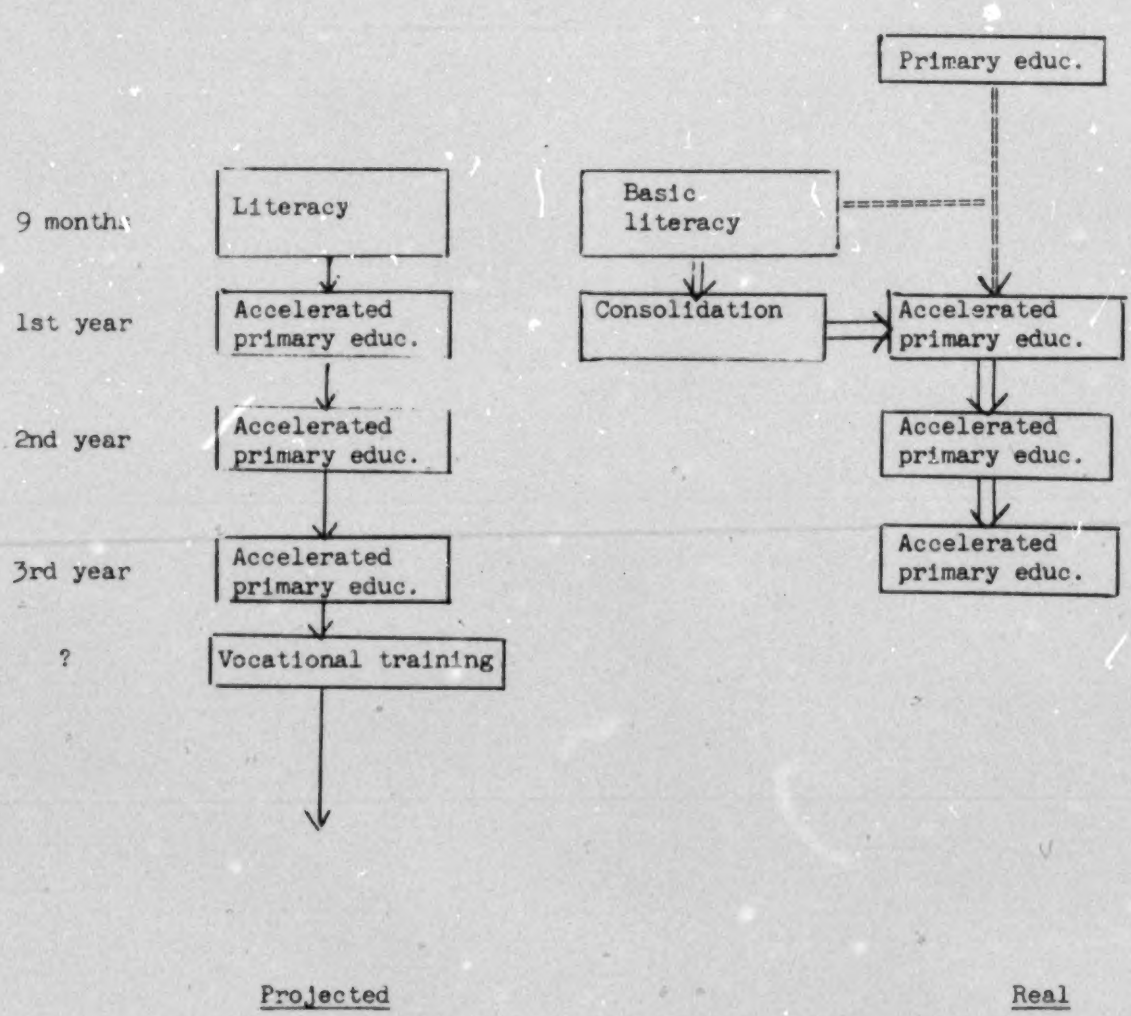
Figure 3. Performance of primary education (1957-1969)



Source: Ministry of Education.

Note: The figures for 1967-68 and 1968-69 are estimates.

Figure 4. Projected and real progress of illiterates



form a parallel system(1) which involves a quite different customer group. It goes without saying that this parallel system is strictly controlled by the Ministry of Education. Not only is the teaching body exclusively formed of primary school teachers who teach 'adults' in the evenings what they have so painfully taught 'children' during the day, but the curriculum and teaching methods are merely 'selections' from the school system. In spite of attempts at adaptation, the Ministry of Education has never allowed the slightest really significant change. In the eyes of education officials, the object of this catching-up being to bring adults to the same level as children who have regularly attended primary school, there was no imperative reason to change the curriculum in order, as they say, not to give the impression of 'cheapening' certificates. Since the worth of certificates depends solely on the Ministry of Education which has the monopoly of them, it had no difficulty in upholding its point of view.

Today, these catching-up courses have become so academic that the wisest plan would be to recognize this accomplished fact and simply transfer these evening courses outright to the Directorate of Primary Education and confess that they no longer bear any relation to adult education.

C. ADULT EDUCATION AS PROMOTION OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

In a situation such as that created in Venezuela by the speed and suddenness of economic growth, other social problems have accumulated. Those locally responsible for development have had to meet the needs created among the population by this growth. Thus, problems of health and nutrition, family planning and family education (particularly important in a country where more than half the children are born illegitimate), improved housing and environment have been the subject of important national programmes coming under different ministries or autonomous bodies such as FUNDACOMUM. The body responsible for national co-ordination and planning, CORDIPLAN, has backed them up by creating a large Community Development Division which, in spite of its name, has been concerned less with developing 'communities' than with creating the conditions for the participation of the population at local and regional level in the process of development organisation and planning. This action co-ordinated at local level the action taken under the various programmes and inspired the population with motives for their participation. Now, all these actions, however extra-scholastic, nearly always implied the acquisition of new knowledge, a change of opinion, action on certain attitudes and motives for new behaviour; that is to say, they presupposed training and, therefore, out-of-school educative action.

These programmes have worked out their own adult education, often, alas, without the slightest contact with the Adult Education Department of the Ministry of Education. When there was collaboration, it was fortuitous and

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(1) We shall revert to this idea in Part III.

provisional. In practice, the educators were incapable of programming any education which was not academic, while on the other side, the technicians from other ministries had never learned to explain their own educational problems. It is, therefore, not surprising that the diversity and multiplication of these programmes created an almost chaotic situation. The Ministry of Health, for example, had several distinct community development programmes each with its own individual methods, techniques and educational principles.

CORDIPLAN community development aimed at concentrating and confronting these actions at local level through the creation of local 'houses of culture'. These were easily constructed with the aid of the populations. The difficulties began when it came to deciding how to use them; who should be responsible for them? Who should find, train and pay the leaders? It was quite rightly desired not to turn them into 'schools' for adults which would quite simply have duplicated the school system. What types of original activities therefore had to be promoted? These questions were all the more insoluble since the administrative structures had been set up at a stage of national development which is today long past. Furthermore, the objectives were often too ambitious and went beyond even what most of those who co-operated understood by 'culture'. In practice, the aim was nothing less than to renew the whole social fabric after the sometimes dramatic ruptures set off by the economic boom. The situation was very remote from any educational action, whatever form it might take. The aim was 'to teach people how to live better with greater joy and happiness'.

D. ADULT EDUCATION AS POLITICAL TRAINING

In a country as politicised as Venezuela, the environment was bound to be particularly favourable for adult education conceived as national and political training, designed to train militants as much as for more general civic culture. This function of adult education was to attract the attention of the government in so far as it was essential to create habits of dialogue and to form a common language on the foundation of which divergences enrich a country instead of destroying it.

At the adult education level of the Ministry, these tasks were remarkably absent. The neutralism of the educators prevented them from tackling such a job. On the other hand, it certainly seems, though unfortunately, we do not possess sufficient data that the major national parties such as Acción Democrática and Copei have carried out an enormous task of political leadership in training militants at all levels. In our opinion, the extreme politicisation of the country could not be explained without systematic action of this kind. The so-called 'subversive' groups and movements have often applied the principles of psychological warfare to try again and again to 'make the people conscious'.

It is just as difficult to judge the results of these actions as it is to ascertain the means and impact of action taken by the armed forces in

anti-guerilla warfare. It may, however, be noted that the armed forces have mobilised the adult education programme of the Ministry in their efforts at pacification. This is, therefore, not only virgin soil but unexplored territory which must be systematically explored.

E. ADULT EDUCATION AS VOCATIONAL UPGRADING

While as we have seen, adult education organised direct by the Ministry of Education has scarcely succeeded in going beyond a purely academic conception of human training, it would be wholly mistaken to conclude that there is no educational action in Venezuela aimed at the vocational upgrading of adults. Venezuela, like other Latin American countries (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, etc.) has created a remarkable institution, the National Institute of Educational Co-operation (INCE) whose function is to organise the training, upgrading and where appropriate, the refresher training of adults already at work. The co-operation which is emphasized in the title of this institution is the result of close co-operation between the public sector (through the Ministry of Education which, in theory, controls INCE, but which has had to recognize its complete administrative and educational autonomy) and the private sector represented by employers and trade unions. INCE's autonomy of action has enabled it to respond with flexibility and agility to the demands of production. INCE has become the model of the well-equipped parallel system, rich in resources and ideas, modern and aiming at precise and limited objectives.

Without trying to evaluate this very interesting case(1), I should nevertheless like to call your attention to some of the problems of a parallel system of this kind.

INCE, well before the Teheran Conference on literacy in 1965, followed a training policy based on the functional principle. That is why INCE based its programmes and its development in general on the results of manpower surveys addressed direct to employers. The INCE chiefs, therefore, have a precise list of the needs of industry in the capital and the main inland towns. This information is, however, very partial since it is merely the result of an inquiry into the opinions of employers alone. It is not derived from an analysis of industrial development which would allow for changes in the pattern of employment. It commits nobody since those interviewed are not in any way representative. Finally, these inquiries merely indicate present and short-term needs and make any extrapolation extremely hazardous. This is all the more regrettable since INCE mainly reaches young workers who have very little working experience. They will probably soon change their jobs and they are in danger of very rapidly experiencing the problems of obsolescence.

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(1) I base myself on the existing documentation and on the terminal work of my students in the Catholic University of Andrès Bello of Caracas.

The classical problem of the relation between the training proposed and the labour market has assumed very special importance in the development of INCE. The Act specified that the Institute would train only workers who were already in active employment since its aim was occupational upgrading. But INCE was so successful that the government made its directors responsible for organising and administering an entirely State-subsidized extraordinary programme designed to train young adolescents who have left school and desire to acquire the rudiments of one of the trades in which there seems to be a skilled labour shortage. This programme has been a thundering success. Training designed by the INCE on the model of in-firm training has proved satisfactory. On the other hand, INCE has no statistics of the exact number of these young people who have found a stable job corresponding to the training given. In theory, according to the director of INCE in 1969, finding jobs was, moreover, not within the competence of INCE.

Another question which concerns INCE is its participation in the modernization of the countryside. In principle, INCE could also co-operate with agricultural enterprises. In practice, its action was for a long time confined to the urban centres affected by industrialization. With the development of a modern agriculture, INCE began pioneer action in the rural interior of Venezuela. It may, however, well be asked whether INCE's industrial and ultra-modern tendency has not led to a far too advanced conception of modernization through the exclusive use of machines and tractors.

As you will realize, these few points emphasize how fundamental it is to any adult education programme that it should be integrated and harmonized with the dominant tendencies of the policy for the best use of human resources. Not only is such a policy essential but it is also necessary that the underlying pattern should correspond with the pattern implicit in the training programme. Now a human resources policy may follow very different patterns. By way of reminder, we may recall at least three of them which represent absolutely different training patterns:

(a) It may be a policy for the utilization of human capital which can be constituted either by selective migration or by training and advanced training directly subordinate to the interests of entrepreneurs or by skimming off the best elements from a mass held in reserve. The corresponding training will be selective, depending on the needs defined by the entrepreneurs and will be limited in its content;

(b) or the policy may be to modify the group of people who are or may be the beneficiaries of a development programme, especially, for example, in a region such as the pole of development constituted at Ciudad Guyana in Venezuela. In this event, training must be much more flexible to allow for successive needs. It will be defined in the light of all the social and cultural objectives of development. In this second case, the customers will also include people who are not directly linked with the production process. From vocational training proper, we have moved to a much more complex aggregate of cultural action;

(c) or the policy may be nothing less than to enable the whole population to take an active and creative part in the development process. From this perspective, it is integral development which is the aim, varying importance being attached to the specifically cultural aspects. Now, in some regions at least (cf. Figure 5), it has been noted that programmes of this kind only reach the lower layers of the population, that is to say, broadly speaking, in Venezuela, those with an annual income of less than $200. This class still forms the majority of the population of the interior and is becoming more and more marginal. When it can be reached, it displays a disturbing apathy. That is why, in this third case, a quite different educational approach must be adopted. Instead of trying to diffuse, popularize or spread a pre-fabricated culture (which is another way of dominating these populations culturally), it is necessary, on the contrary, to sensitize them, that is to say, to make them conscious of their needs and aspirations and the means available to them if they will only train themselves. This educational approach brings us to the last phase of development, in which the idea emerges of the operation of cultural development.

F. ADULT EDUCATION IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In analyzing this last phase, we start from a definition by Joffre Dumazedier(1):

> "Adult education is an operation of the cultural development of society and/or of the groups which constitute it, concretely oriented towards economic development of the personality through the medium of a system of continuing and repeated apprenticeship which places the culture of a social subject in relation with the groups and cultural levels best able to sustain this development."

Let us follow up some of the elements of this definition.

(a) Adult education is an operation of the cultural development

We are dealing no longer with an educational institution or an educational campaign but with a specifically cultural element of an overall action which is normally integrated with the development of a region or possibly of a country.

(b) of society and/or of the groups which constitute it

The concept of a 'group' can be understood in the sense of a territorial or geographic division. It can also be understood in a sociological sense as referring to age, sex, production, etc.

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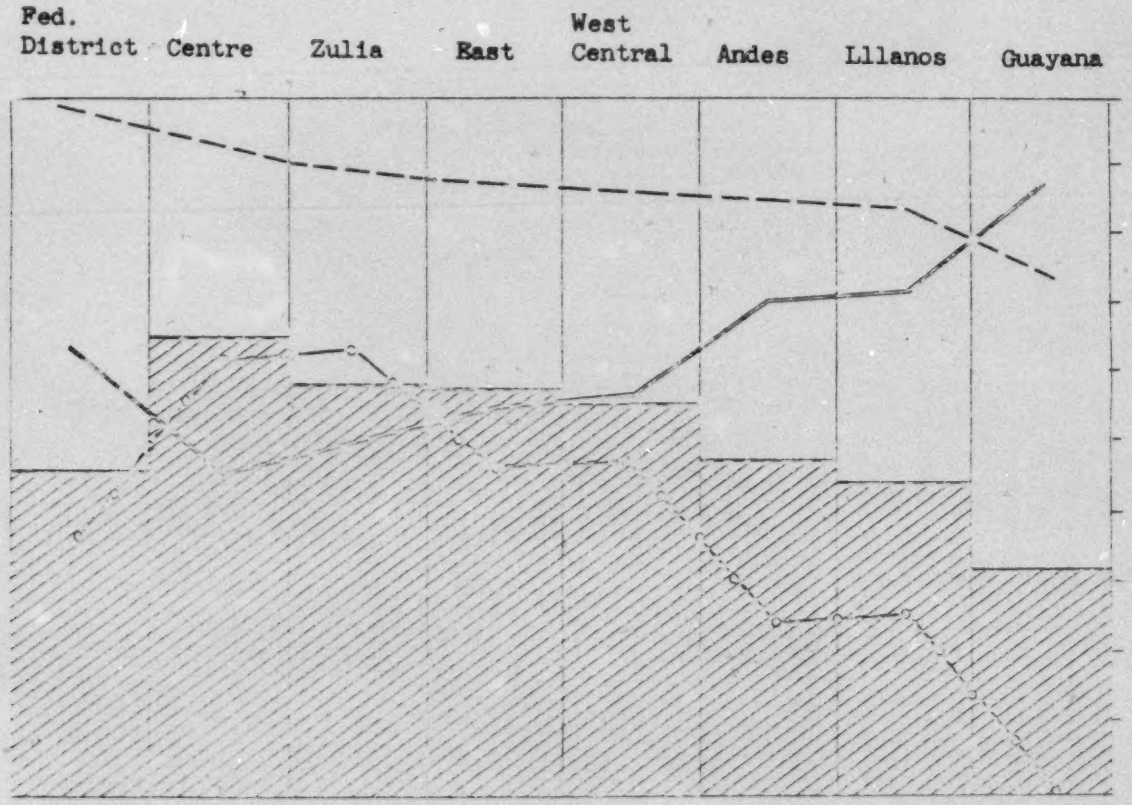
(1) Dumazedier, J., article on "Education des adultes" in Enciclopedia Universalis, Paris, 1970.

Figure 5. Economic and cultural characteristics of eight regions of Venezuela



(a) percentage of illiterates
(b) family incomes
(c) urbanisation
(d) without education (deficit)

Source: IDES Educacion, p.122

(c) concretely oriented towards the economic development of the personality

J. Dumazedier takes a short cut here and merely considers the two extremes of the process. Between the two, there is obviously room for a socio-political dimension.

(d) through the medium of a system of continuing and repeated apprenticeship

According to J. Dumazedier (I do not entirely share his view), this type of action is distinguished from other cultural action precisely by its continuing and repetitive character.

(e) which places the culture of a social subject in relation with the groups and cultural levels best able to sustain this development

This bringing into relation is fundamental and must be most carefully guided since it may assume very different values. It may amount to an intensification of communication among different groups aimed at what a certain North American school of sociology calls 'consensus', that is to say, a single national culture. It may quite simply aim at constituting a cultural background, a common language which will set off the differences and the divergent orientations appropriate to a genuinely democratic society. This bringing into relation may just as well lead to a cultural dictatorship as to an enrichment or a new conception of the role of cultural minorities. I take the liberty of stressing this point since in many developing countries, the problem of nationality is still unsolved and some of them, as current events demonstrate, may literally break up under regional pressures which may very well be of cultural origin.

Cultural development has three requirements which compel educators to envisage an entirely new educational approach. First and foremost, that of the cultural permeability of the environment in which the educational action develops. This is not merely the familiar but still unsolved problem of integrating the school in the environment, but also that of the capacity of the environment actively to take over, to prolong and multiply the effects of training so that educational action is not merely a present but the starting point of an active take-over of cultural initiative by the populations themselves. This requirement presupposes a living social fabric, a dense network of public and private institutions, a cultural apparatus whose creation as well as its operation is often beyond the competence of educationists. That is why they are constantly obliged to seek the co-operation and collaboration of other institutions.

The second requirement is that of feedback; in other words, educational action must represent communication conceived as a circular process. Communication is, therefore, no longer a simple to-and-fro process of the emission and reception of information but it includes a third

dimension of capital importance namely interpretation. Educationists must, of course, transmit messages but, above all, they must by virtue of permanent critical contact, check, intensify or rectify the interpretation of the messages received. When this third dimension of communication is missing then educational action does no more than confirm pre-conceived ideas. Without feedback, the intensification of communication reinforces the relations of dependence whose unfavourable role in the development process is so well known today.(1) It is certainly disturbing for those in charge of a national development project not to know what is happening and what is left of their intentions and decisions. While educationally speaking, there are effective ways of gaining an audience or reaching a public, there is still a great deal to be done to influence their retention capacity. We know too little about the relation between the message perceived and the transformation of attitudes and behaviour. Carried to its ultimate conclusion, feedback even implies a reversal of the education process. The culmination of education is the disappearance of the educator and the self-education of those who have hitherto been merely regarded as the subjects of action.

The third requirement relates to the goal of education designed for cultural development. This goal is the self-educated man.(2) Now this requirement compels us radically to overhaul certain very deep-rooted prejudices such as the scorn of the self-educated man so often manifested by the intellectual élite. Do you remember the terrible description given of it in Sartre's La Nausée?(3) Now there is in this idea of cultural development a powerful subversive principle since it aims at nothing less than the abolition of the traditional distinction between the élite and the mass. Perhaps, we are already on the brink of a new concept of social relations as S.N. Eisenstadt suggests.(4)

This short sketch of what cultural development should be merits not only filling in but also comparison with practical achievements. In the meantime, however, it already embodies enough topics for creative reflection on the educational planning of tomorrow.

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(1) Furter, P., Le sous-développement et ses problèmes formatifs : de la domination culturelle au développement culturel. In Genève-Afrique, 1970, Volume IX, No. 1, p. 1-17.

(2) Cáceres, B., Les autodidactes, Paris, Ed. Seuil.

(3) Sartre, J.P., La Nausée, Paris, Gallimard.

(4) Eisenstadt, S.N., Modernization, protest and change, Princeton University Press, 1966.

CONCLUSION

From this rapid description of the development of adult education which from the fight against illiteracy has led us to the limits of education, that is to say, to complete cultural development, we can infer the possibility of creating training systems much more complex and large-scale than the scholastic systems with which we are familiar. Such systems presuppose frames of reference which go beyond those to which educationists have so far been accustomed. These two conclusions foreshadow the topic of our third paper which is that adult education now finds itself in an unprecedented situation. It must in the first place find its own frame of reference which compels planners to open an interdisciplinary dialogue for which they are not always prepared. Secondly, it must find forms of action, administrative structures and new institutions which will not imprison it in a new scholastic ghetto but which will enable it, in the excellent words of S.N. Eisenstadt, "to develop beyond its premises".(1)

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(1) Eisenstadt, S.N., op.cit.

PART III OUT-OF-SCHOOL EDUCATION: PART OF A SYSTEM OR A PARALLEL SYSTEM?(1)

INTRODUCTION

We have so far been considering certain aspects of the customers and content of adult education but on several occasions, we have already had to refer to the problems raised by the institutionalisation of these forms of education. We use this neologism purposely since it indicates a process of institutional construction or in other words, the conversion of ad hoc action into a permanent institution. This conversion presupposes that the action no longer responds to particular momentary needs but to profound and continuing needs. It implies a legal and administrative status, the contribution of technicians trained for specific tasks and in our case, a specific form of pedagogics, commonly called 'andragogics'.

Institutionalisation is primarily inward-looking in so far as it enables action to be structured. As R. Hennion emphasized in a remarkable document(2), this aspect is particularly difficult in the field with which we are concerned since the task is nothing less than to reconcile the continuity and repetition inherent in habitual educational action with the discontinuity which seems, on the contrary, to characterize adult education. However, interesting this aspect may be, we shall not consider it here since we deem it more urgent to study the outward-looking repercussions of the institutionalization of adult education. In other words, what is the meaning for the planner of the fact that adult education is regarded as 'out-of-school'? What are the relations between 'out-of-school' and 'in-school'? What are the limits of competence of each sector?

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS

First of all, the institutionalization of adult education has been made possible only by the very wide extension of these forms of education over the last few years. This extension has been marked by the generalization followed by the systematization and finally by the institutional consolidation of adult education.

Generalization is the extension of education to all the adults in a country. Thus, in the U.S.A., it is estimated(3) that while in 1960, there were two and a half million adults enrolled in different training courses, there were already 3,800,000 in 1964 and they are expected to exceed eleven million by 1980. According to another method of calculation and still in the U.S.A., it is estimated that out of the present adult population, more

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(1) Address delivered on 18 November 1970.

(2) Hennion, R., Cours sur la planification et l'administration de programmes d'alphabétisation, Groupe régional de planification de l'éducation, Dakar, mimeographed, 1967.

(3) Olean, J., Changing patterns in continuing education for business, CSLEA, Boston, 1967, p. 1-9.

than 25 million Americans, or one in five, had in some way or another benefited from educational action intended for adults. This extension is all the more impressive since in the English-speaking societies, as in the Nordic countries, adult education is still always an essentially voluntary activity for which the individual concerned is personally responsible, although the State and employers are increasingly making it easy for him to do so. It may also be noted that this progress does not affect all ages or both sexes. In particular, it is worth noting that for the last thirty years, women seem to have been more and more interested in adult education. In two countries so different as England and Venezuela, the statistics suggest that there are at present more women than men engaged in the process of adult education.

This generalization has involved the systematization of action. Attempts have been made in many countries to regulate this education. A Bill is at present under discussion in France for bringing correspondence schools under State control. In other countries, minimum curricula are proposed to guarantee the quality of an education which may be evidenced by State-recognized certificates. Finally, those responsible for this type of education are claiming the official recognition of the specific character of the adult education teaching body which would involve the right not only to special training but also to a precise status and a professional career. This systematization has not been easy since, as we have said, the set of activities grouped under the name of adult education is marked especially in the English-speaking countries, by the opposition to any attempt to 'nationalize' them or bring them under State control. Under this tradition, in which adult education is an individual activity, it is hard to admit that adult education should be conducted in groups and regarded as a collective activity. Since this individual activity depends on a voluntary decision, this tradition defends a liberal policy of laisser-faire and confidence in private organisations. It is true that the emergence of a quite different conception can be observed, especially in the developing countries. This school of thought emphasizes that the consequences of this individual activity and this voluntary decision fall less and less exclusively on the 'beneficiary' alone. Not only is 'cultural leave' being increasingly granted but the State and employers are making efforts to create funds, foundations and even banks to give financial support to those who want to take part in this form of education. This is an interesting example of the assumption of the social costs of development. That is why a growing tension can be noted in certain countries, for example in my own, between educational administrators and planners on the one hand, who would like a complete overhaul of the three principles of individualism, voluntary choice and the primacy of the private sector and on the other hand, the whole of the associations interested in adult education who display a very marked mistrust, if not overt opposition, towards these attempts at systematization.(1)

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(1) Coombs, Philip H., The world education crisis: a systems analysis, PUF, Paris, p. 203 and following.

Nothwithstanding these clashes, planners tend to get over this state of affairs by suggesting the creation of permanent groups of co-ordinated institutions for the continuing education of all the members of a constantly changing society. That is why those responsible for adult education have often been in the vanguard of the administrative reform of education ministries, structural reforms of education systems and innovation in teaching methods.(1)

THE CONCERNS OF EDUCATIONAL PLANNERS

The complex development of adult education has made it essential to specify the competence of this new area of administration. In general, and especially in Latin America, the tendency is to regard adult education as an integral part of the school system and, therefore, within the competence of the Ministry of Education. This tendency was to some extent ratified by the Conference on the planning of adult education organised by Unesco at Caracas in 1967. Not only did the final report emphasize that it was recognized that adult education came primarily under the Ministry of Education but it also specified that "activities conducted by other organisations, whether public or private, should follow the guidelines for education policy laid down by the competent bodies and should be co-ordinated in the form of co-operation with government action".(2) Now, this approach cannot fail to raise very difficult problems at operational level.

If the Ministry of Education enjoys a sort of monopoly of adult education, how can the co-operation of other ministries be ensured? No doubt, inter-ministerial commissions at the top decision-making level are always conceivable but what happens at the execution level, that is to say, the regional and local level? In some cases, instead of co-operation, one finds on the contrary, a battle for influence in which the other ministries are constantly seeking a pretext to retain control over their programmes. The same problem, it may be noted, arises with international organisations. Thus, all Latin-American programmes of the INCE type, of which we have already spoken, are linked up by an international body, CINTERFOR, which comes exclusively under the ILO. While CINTERFOR brings other organisations into association, the experts in the field, particularly the Unesco experts, are not even informed about the progress of these training programmes. In the case of functional literacy, solutions have been proposed and sometimes tried out which might perhaps make it possible to escape from this deadlock. The

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(1) See, for example, Report of the working party on the problems of continuing education, Cultural Council of the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, mimeographed, 1967.

(2) Report of the regional conference on the planning and administration of literacy and adult education programmes in Latin America and the Caribbean, Unesco, Paris, 1967.

same is true of relations between the public and private sectors. In Latin America, there is often a very long-standing and serious tension between the Ministry of Education and the private education sector, particularly when the latter is rightly or wrongly held to be the preserve of denominational education. In other countries, a veiled hostility is found between the centralizing tendency of the State and the aspirations of regional and local governments towards greater autonomy.(1) Finally, outright competition is sometimes found between the private sector which administers and runs its schools as business undertakings and the public sector which tries to convert them into semi-public ventures.

These problems are no doubt purely administrative but they are the source of inextricable situations which hold up a great many projects. For example, in a functional literacy project, the Ministry of Education monopoly meant that among other things, the salaries of national staff had to be paid by that Ministry. For the sake of economy, the Ministry brought pressure to bear to ensure that all national staff were chosen from Ministry of Education officials to the exclusion of other ministries. Thus, instead of farmers, one had farming instructors; instead of works foremen, one had technical school instructors. Similarly, how can the principle of integrating training in development programmes be put into practice if decisions ultimately depend on a single ministry and precisely the ministry which is technically the least equipped to take an overall view of the problems of integrated development? In this way, as S.N. Eisenstadt(2) so well says, "this union of different types of educational action within a common institutional framework does not necessarily imply either harmony or identity between the different aspects". On the contrary, we are witnessing the creation of heterogeneous assemblies which negate the continuity rightly presupposed by continuing education.

These concerns of educational planners and administrators stem, in our opinion, from an educational administrative structure in which competences are defined at a stage in national development when the division of labour in the light of integrated development programmes is not yet envisaged.

SYSTEM AND PARALLEL SYSTEM

But at a deeper level, do these administrative problems not also express a theoretical uncertainty? If, in practice, relations between 'school' and 'out-of-school' are strained and often degenerate into a trial of strength and open conflict, is the reason not to be found in an implicit

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(1) Ruckriem, W., Planung und Erwachsenbildung in Theorie and Präxis der Erwachsenbildung, Volume 3, 1970, p. 437-447.

(2) Eisenstadt, S.N., op.cit.

pattern of thought in which adult education is an 'outsider' in relation to the school system and must be brought into the pre-established system. It is certainly this not very dialectic interpretation which emerges from a number of documents. We may cite the example of some striking passages from IIEP working papers(1):

(a) Callaway

"...the array of learning activities going on outside(2) schools and universities ..."

(b) Coombs

"...all those organized, systematic educational programmes lying institutionally outside the 'formal' educational system such as farmer training and agricultural extension, accelerated skill training of various sorts, community development efforts in the fields of health, nutrition, child-rearing and home-making, functional literacy projects and special programmes for out-of-school youth".

(c) Anderson

"...I qualify the predominant notion that non-formal education is what goes on outside of the regular school system by classifying formal vocational programmes or schools in the non-formal category - thinking of course of the pre-university schools ... I construe non-formal instruction as that which is conducted outside(2) the conventional 'academic' or 'college-bound' courses".

So long as the relations between the different types of education are conceived according to the rigid pattern of 'inside' and 'outside', out-of-school education will be defined exclusively by reference to what already exists. It may claim:

(a) to complete school education for those who left school too soon or whose education has been too limited;

(b) to prolong school education since, as we know, modern societies need continuing education to avoid the obsolescence of knowledge;

(c) to replace school education in extreme cases, for example, of a population which has become marginalized in the development process.

In some countries, however, instead of striving after integration at all costs, those reponsible for out-of-school education recognizing the

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(1) Quotations from J. Ryan's working paper: Some suggestions for the planning of out-of-school education, IIEP, mimeographed, 29 November 1971.

(2) Our emphasis.

importance of their programmes, the number of their personnel and their popularity have tried to constitute autonomous and parallel systems which we might call 'parasystems'. This attempt by out-of-school educators may go very far; they claim the legal recognition of their autonomy, the administration of their budget and the constitution of a specialized teaching body with a different training from other teachers and, above all, the right to draw up their own programmes and award official certificates. Thus, in Venezuela, the adult education teachers formed a pressure group within the powerful teachers' union to present and defend an organic law on education(1), which, among other things, provided for the constitution of bureaucratic mechanism to defend the interests of out-of-school education. Similar tendencies are to be found in other countries, for example, within the Defence Ministries which have succeeded, as in Brazil, in creating a complete parallel system for the education of officers' children from kindergarten to higher education. This category of parallel systems could also include denominational networks (e.g. mission schools) or training schemes run by important minorities.(2)

We thus find situations in which 'out-of-school' education becomes transformed into a full alternative to the school system.(3)

However attractive the alternative of parallel systems may be, it encounters strong opposition from the defenders of the principle of continuing education. Does it not amount to recognizing the co-existence of two parallel education systems, following different principles, aimed at different ends, with different teaching bodies and therefore, different teaching methods, while at the same time courting the same customers? It must be frankly admitted that from the point of view of continuing education, such a trend is absolutely unacceptable. There is, in fact, a danger:

(a) of making even more rigid the distinction between apprenticeship in childhood and continuous apprenticeship throughout life. In this way, 'pedagogics' could be sharply contrasted with 'andragogics' and it could be asserted that there is no continuity between the education designed for and imposed upon people so long as they are children and adolescents and the education which they freely accept as adults;

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(1) Proyecto de ley organico de la educación, presented to the Venezuelan National Congress, 1966.

(2) Clerk, M. de, Aspects sociaux de l'action éducative en milieu rural, in Tiers-Monde, Paris, 1965/22.

(3) Lengrand, P., "L'éducation permanente", Peuple et culture, Paris, 1966, p. 71

(b) of even further reducing the exchange and dialogue between the responsible practitioners of 'school' education and those who practise a more flexible, functional education adapted to the needs felt by the populations. This would be all the more serious since the expansion of the school system has sometimes resulted in such a deterioration in its quality that out-of-school education can only try to remedy an educational situation for which it is, in fact, not responsible;

(c) of widening the differences between teaching bodies, not only in status and training but, above all, in their fundamental conception of educational relations. It seems characteristic today to be very ready to contrast an oppressive teaching typical of school systems with a liberating teaching promoted by the adult educators.(1) In effect, adult teaching responds to three objectives to which teaching normally attached no importance. Let us remind ourselves of them:

(1) the principle of self-assessment of needs for education on the basis of the recognition and expression of the needs actually felt. Under this principle, it is the person who is educating himself who best knows what he needs. This principle obviously means breaking the bonds of paternalism and dependence;

(2) self-education, that is to say, the administration of education by the participants themselves. If I am really an adult, that means that I can educate myself on my own and, in particular, I can define that education by seeking first and foremost educational independence, that is to say, self-education;

(3) the collective organisation of training by self-management. This principle recognizes that from the point of view of adult education, those who are being educated have the right to administer their own education.

It, therefore, seems that the solution of a parallel system designed to institutionalize out-of-school education on the same pattern as school education but as an alternative, leads to a deadlock.

As R. Hennion says(2), an education intended for an adult-working population cannot be organized in the form of a system. If, in development activities, education must be present and diffused in all parts, it does so without organizing its own network, but by using all the existing diffusion

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(1) Furter, P., "Les éléments politiques d'une éducation libératrice", Spanish translation, Educación Hoy, Bogota, appearing shortly.

(2) Hennion, R., op.cit.

networks. The revolutionary and, perhaps, even subversive dimension of continuing education is precisely the categorical rejection of the whole idea of a system which does not, of course, mean that continuing education implies the disappearance of educational organisation. If it accepts the coherence of its organisation, that does not make it believe that this implies its crystallisation in an autonomous system. That is why A. Deléon could write(1):

> "The changes which can be perceived in the development of education represent the beginning of something which we could describe as a great and enormous revolution in education. It is no longer a question of small reforms or fragmentary improvements; it is no longer a question of popular education or adult education or of betterment or of adult education in the old meaning of the word; it is a question of a vast synthesis of different activities, of different modes, of different aspects of education; it is a question of seeing how to join together, how to obtain a correlation, a synthesis and a synthetic conjunction of different means, different ways, different institutions. Education must free itself of its fragmentation. We must arrive at a single concept, a policy of union for education".

RETHINKING THE CONCEPT OF SYSTEM

As we have said before, the core of most of the difficulties so far encountered lies in the approximate character of our theoretical knowledge, particularly the imprecision of the concept of 'school system'. This concept, whose obviousness, persistence and common usage should inspire the greatest scientific caution is, as A. Vexliard notes(2), the concept which has best withstood all the criticisms which are, after all, directed against the school.

No doubt, there is a growing tendency today to contrast the idea of the school with the 'non-school' (G.E.R. Bereday) or to advocate 'de-schooling' (I. Illich). But in merely taking its stand in opposition to the school, this tendency is just as far from being dialectic as the tendency to create parallel systems. These sharp conflicts are too reminiscent of the style of argument which marked the wars of religion not to be disturbing.

We are led to ask ourselves whether we should not try to overcome the present situation, first of all, by rethinking the concept of

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(1) Deléon, A., "Conceptions actuelles de l'éducation permanente et sa planification", in Peuple et culture, Paris, 1966/66.

(2) Vexliard, A., "Systèmes et non-systèmes d'éducation", in Revue française de pédagogie, Paris, 1969/8, p. 5-11.

'school system'. This is not quite so obvious as it might appear at first sight. In the first place, the school system does not embody all the elements which go to make up a country's education efforts, but only the favoured path followed by certain students. Broadly speaking, it relates only to the 'school career' followed by the privileged ones who go from primary school right through to the university. Secondly, this concept corresponds to an administrative reality only, a reality which is never experienced as such, either by the teachers who divide themselves and who are divided rigorously by their different qualifications, their distinct status, their different salary levels and their conceptions of teaching activity or by the pupils, the majority of whom are conscious of a structure which is heterogeneous (there is part of education which is inaccessible to them), discontinuous (there are bridges between levels and sometimes even between types of education which conceal impassable gulfs) and unequal (the different elements enjoy very different prestige and status). To sum up, we think there is nothing more misleading than to describe the whole of the public education efforts of a country as a school system since, in fact, it is merely an agglomeration of disparate elements.

Perhaps, no one has been more alive to these difficulties than Coombs, who in his work on the world education crisis(1), accepted the concept of system to designate the national complex which embodies the whole of a country's organized education effort (e.g. pp. 23 and 25). Today, Coombs seems to think that systems do not completely cover the whole of a country's educational efforts and that the concept of system might even lead to simplifications.(2) Having become much more sensitive of the distance between reality as it is experienced and as it is expressed at the level of plans and regulations, Coombs envisages that the total educational effort might be represented by a series of concentric circles, the core of which might be called 'the system' but around which a whole series of more or less integrated and more or less co-ordinated elements would gravitate. Thus, while in "The world education crisis"(3), Coombs still contrasted out-of-school with school education and described it as an anarchic, confused and ill-defined assembly, etc. (pp. 203-204). Today, on the contrary, he is looking for a wider and more global concept which would precisely make it possible to apprehend the educational phenomenon as a whole.(4)

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(1) Coombs, Philip H., The world education crisis - a systems analysis.

(2) Coombs, Philip H., The planning of out-of-school education, some introductory remarks. Working paper for participants in the seminar on the planning of out-of-school education with a view to development, organized by the IIEP, Paris, 26 November 1971.

(3) Coombs, Philip H., The world ..., op.cit.

(4) Coombs, Philip H., The planning ..., op.cit.

It would no doubt be presumptuous to try to describe this global concept to you already. I believe it possible, however, to note a few very important convergences which will give us some idea of what it will no doubt be.

The fundamental element is no longer instruction but the process of learning, that is to say, the active process of continuous acquisition by each individual within the different communities to which he belongs (and will belong) throughout his life. The planner's difficulty is precisely to find the means of determining with exactitude the extent of this learning, which calls for a much more systematic analysis of the levels of cultural development of the population, which presupposes knowledge of everything which encourages and sustains such a development but which also makes it difficult, endangers it and prevents it. It seems to us to be difficult to use the concept of system to designate this cultural development, as diverse as it is varied, as dynamic as it is changing, but which will nevertheless afford the essential frame of reference.

From this frame of reference, we believe it is then possible to outline a teaching network, that is to say, the coherent, but not necessarily centralized or uniform, whole of all the education available to the different customer groups at different moments in their lives in different situations. Whereas cultural development depends essentially on individual or group activity, this teaching network, for its part, could be organized by educational activities between which there should be exchange, reflection, co-ordination and co-operation, which would be exactly the role of continuing education.

It is only then, within this whole, that it would be possible, among other things, to define the educational tasks which are more particularly appropriate to schooling which can be defined as the indispensable and therefore compulsory minimum which each individual must assimilate to be able to use the teaching network and take an active part in educational action.

It would then be possible to apply the principles which Coombs recently proposed for the planning of out-of-school education.(1) I would briefly recall the main stages:

(1) Once a specific sector is defined, the local particularities must be diagnosed;

(2) Priorities must be set in the light of the needs and aims of the customers for whom the action is intended;

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(1) Coombs, Philip H., The Planning ..., op.cit.

(3) Educational action must be designed to meet the needs;

(4) Launching the operation and its permanent evaluation and continuing adaptation.

These proposals can also be represented in space, as we do in Figure 6 where we try to show that educational action must be related to three co-ordinates: first, the level of education desired (z); secondly, the number of people it is desired to train (x); and thirdly, the content of the training (y). Taking (oyz), we get the elements which enable us to articulate the programmes successively in a promotion of upgrading. Looking at (oxy), we get the elements which enable us to integrate a programme in its context at each level.

Figure 6. The components of educational action